Metamorphosis
NGLORUM,
OR
eflections Historical, and Po-
litical, upon the late Chan-
ges of Government in
ENGLAND,
From the death of *Oliver*,
Lord Protector, to the
last dissolution of the
present Parliament.

---

epresented in a letter by a Person
of quality, to the most Excellent
Don Lewis de Haro, Chief Mini-
ster of State to his Majesty of
Spain.

LONDON,
Printed in the year MDCLX.

M
1917a
one
wood
3/10

Metamorphosis

MYSLORUM,

OR

Historical, and Po-
ris, Upon the late Chan-
ges of Government of

ENGLAND,

From the Death of Oliver
Lord Protector, to the
Dissolution of the
Parliament.

Presented in a letter by a Person
of Quality, to the most Excellent
Don Lewis de Haro, Chief Mini-
ster of State to his Majesty of
Spain.

LONDON,
Printed in the year MDCLX.

Metamorphosis

ANGLORUM,

&c.

My Lord,

I Should very much forget my self, and those numberless obligations, wherewith your Lordship hath made me wholly yours, should I not at length correspond with your reiterated desires, and my re-

doubled promiſes, to give you an account of the affairs and intereſts of *England*. A task, I muſt confeſſe, none but your Lordſhip ſhould have wrought on me, to undertake: ſince I could no where elſe preſume to find a Candor and generoſity, which might paſſe by thoſe errours, which in ſuch an undertaking do very commonly intervene.

And much ſooner (my Lord) ſhould I have diſcharged this debt, had not my being ſo long abroad, ſo wholly eſtranged me both from *England*, and *Engliſhmen*, that (like a freſh come

Tra-

Traveller, who must first learn the language, before he can inform himself of any customes of the Countrey) I was inforced to seek out acquaintance, before I could get any light into the Reason of the Government, or Governours of this Nation. Yet had I sooner answered your desires, I should but the sooner have given you occasion to desire more; since such have been the changes and mutabilities of State here, that no Government since my arrival, hath continued above five months together in power.

For your Lordship must

know that our omnipotent Army here, have an art far beyond that of *Proteus*; for he could only transform himself into what shape he pleased; but these can conjure a Protector into a Parliament; and a Parliament into Nothing.

Your Lordship very well knowes, that I parted from *Spain*, some time after the newes arrived, of the Extinction of that so terribly prodigious Comet (OLIVER CROMWELL) of whose influence, all *Europe* seemed to stand in fear; and unimaginable indeed was the joy which at his death was con-

ceived by moſt Princes in theſe parts of the World; but more eſpecially by the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, who hoped now to take an opportunity of revenging their former loſſes, by ſome diſturbances which they, and indeed all the World, expected ſhould in this juncture of affairs happen in *England*. But their pregnant hopes were fruſtrate; for the Army without the leaſt ſtirre or reſiſtance, ſeem to comply in all due obedience, to his Sonne *Richard Cromwell*, whom in his life time, he had made their General.

But it could not indeed be not was it by most understanding heads expected, that this serene carriage, and complacent submission of the Army to their young *Protector*, could continue; for there were those, whose envy of his Fathers Grandure, though in his time it was depressed by his high & daring spirit, yet expected only a fit opportunity, to take up again those cinders which were not quite extinct, but lay only smothered under the ashes of a seeming subjection. Which was not at all discerned by the young Protector, (a man of no

ſearching Spirit) but interpreted to a reall compliance, nay he aſſured himſelf of a faithful obedience, imagining their profeſſions correſponded with their hearts: but at laſt he found in his overthrow, that that envy is moſt dangerous, which is covered with a ſeeming love, and that the cruelleſt Serpents often lie hid under the faireſt Flowers.

But without doubt the trueſt reaſon of their revolt proceeded not ſo much from their diſlike of him, as their fear that the Nation might (by the Parliaments con-

currence with him) be brought into such a Settlement, as might free it from danger of the Armies arbitrary invasion as pleased; and so in time cause them to be laid aside, and the most factious of them, as persons unnecessary and dangerous to the State.

But to proceed. The Parliament by him Convened, not giving that content to the Army, which they expected; nor they indeed (as I said before) being resolved, not to be content with any thing whatsoever the Parliament could give; began at first only privately to mur-

murmure at their actions; and to ſow ſuch ſeeds amongſt the Common Souldiers, as might animate them againſt the Parliaments proceedings, pretending they regarded not the Nations good, but would ſubvert the Army, and find ſome way for their disbanding: And indeed the truth of the buſineſs was, that ſome of the Parliament themſelves had combined with others of the Army, who thought that they could never ſufficiently be rewarded for their pretended ſervices to the Commonwealth, whilſt a ſingle perſon ruled,

who

who took away that share of the Government from them, which their ambitious Spirits perswaded them to be due to their merits. So though at first they seem'd to aim only at the Parliament, yet was it with an intent to shoot the Protector likewise: following herein the footsteps of the Presbiterians, who made the exterpating of Bishops, only a Proeme to the rooting out of Kingly Government, according to the vulgar English Proverb; *No Bishop, no King.*

Princes ought above all things, not to permit the mul-

multitude to inquire into the actions of their great Councels, much lesse to censure them. It either teaches the Councel by complying with the multitude to infringe the Princes Prerogative; or in case of a non-complyance, irritates, that many headed Monster to the destruction; both of Prince and Councel. But this was an Army, and he that would forbid their censures must command their Swords. And this was neither in the power of Parliament nor Protector. They highten their discontents by degrees, and at length think

fit

fit to seem discontented, so they call a Council of Officers, and consult of their designs, indeavouring by all means to strengthen their faction; whilst the Protector though he be dayly informed of the intent of their consultations, seems to be incredulous, and thinks himself secure; without reason believing, that those who had so quietly subjected themselves under the command of the valiant Father, would be content to do the same under the too effeminate Son.

There is nothing in the world, that more ruines great

great actions than security. Doubtlesse had this young Protector had but the tenth part of his Fathers Spirit, he might have prevented their design, nay would he but in time have beleived, that they had a design against him, he might certainly have found some means to have evaded it: But

Quos Deus perdet, dementat prius.

God befors those he means to destroy. There wanted not those in the Army who promised to stick close to him; and would have been assisting to him, would he,

or

or durst he have been assisting to himself. But *Hercules* helps not the Swain, that lies on his back. He seeing the Stone falling on his Head, chose rather with the little Children amazed in such a case, to stand still and cry, than stir a foot to prevent the threatning danger.

The Army all this while are hatching their designs, and those Spirits, who could never be content to see others Govern and themselves sit still, leaving no stone unturn'd which might conduce to their ambitious ends, to take care to possess

the Commonalty of the Army with divers imaginary grievances, strongly alleaging that there could be no way to redresse them, but by aboliſhing the Protectoral power, as they had formerly done the Kingly. That the yearly maintenance of a ſingle perſon, would very near pay the Arrears of the Army: That though they had been contented to yield obedience to *Oliver*, who had done ſuch glorious things for the Nation; yet had they no reaſon to be ſubject to his Son, who had never drawn his Sword in the quarrel: That to let

one

one man alone Reign, was to deprive others of their due rights; who had ventured Lives and Fortunes equally with the best: That the old Protector deprived several godly and deserving Officers of the Army of their Commands, and placed his own Creatures in their stead, which should it continue to be done, they should in a short time see others reap the fruits of their Blood and Labours. These and the like principles favoring of so general a concernment to the Army, were dayly and cunningly spread abroad, to draw them from

their

their Obedience to their Protector. And that their design might be the better laid, and be brought to effect with more ease, rumours are spread that this Parliament, together with the Protector, would indeavour nothing more, than the restoring again of the banished King, whereby the Godly (as here they call them: that is those who have raised themselves by the ruines both of Church and State, and all the Sectaries; who under a setled Government fear they shall not find a lawfull toleration) these Godly men say they

they would be left open to destruction, and by this pretence they make themselves sure of the Anabaptists and the like, who were already discontented with the Protector, for his too much inclining to the Presbiterians faction. Thus endeavoured they to bring to their devotion both Army and People.

But the *what* being resolved, 'twas fit to consider the *how*; they were not ignorant, that some there were amongst them, who though they seemed to consent to the resolutions of this Council: Yet were resolved

to

to stand stedfast to the Protector, and did betray their designs to him: and as I have been credibly informed, undertook their surmizal, ere they could bring any thing to effect, in case *Richard* would have given his consent; but he both timerous and careless, minded more his Sports and Hunting, than the preservation of his State and Grandeza.

His Brother *Henry*, was then possessed of *Ireland*, who was looked upon as a man of a more courageous Spirit, and had doubtlesse by proved it, would the Officers

ficers of the Army there have ſtuck cloſe to him, as at firſt they promiſed, but they upon ſecond thoughts conſidering, that the whole or moſt part of their Eſtates lay in *England*, moſt of their ſubſiſtance came from thence; that of themſelves they could not maintain themſelves; and that if they ſhould own the cauſe of the King of Scots (for *Harry's* own, or his Brothers, they eſteemed not enough prevalent) they ſhould (preſuppoſing a Victory) venture Lives and Fortunes, for a bare pardon of what they had already done, but (ſuppreſſing

pressing the contrary) a losse would deprive them of all. They in a short time after his Brothers ejection, deserted him, and so left him uncapable of assisting himself, or restoring his Brother. But to return to our purpose. The next and greatest impediment they had was General *Monk* Commander of *Scotland*, it was incertain how he stood affected to such an alteration: him therefore though they could not get openly to declare for them, they won to a tacite complyance, he being resolved, however the Cards were plaid in

England

England, to make his own game sure there, but where they could not draw the superiour Officers to their party, they find means to intangle the inferiour, and so having made their party as strong as they could, they resolve to proceed to action.

Nor did they long suspend the execution: they first seek to perswade the Protector to dissolve the Parliament, that so they might with the lesse odium and greater security disrob him: and he, partly forced by threats, and partly by perswasions (contrary to his best friends earnest desire

and advice) yields, and by
his Proclamation orders
their dissolution. So he him-
self having devested two of
the Estates of their power,
they presently dismantle
one of the third, and force
him to render up his Prote-
ctorships, and from a Prince
to become a Peasant.

Thus my Lord, the same
power, which by violent
means had enthron'd *Oliver*
in the Dominion of these
three Nations, uses the same
means to the dethroning of
his Son; and those hopes
wherewith he died, of lea-
ving such ample dominions
to his Successors, were bla-

sted by that force which wa
intended for their establish
ment.

Strange! that the Son o
that Father; who with s
much toile and labour, wit
so much sweat and bloud
with such invincible courag
and valour, had gained th
Monarchy of three King
domes, should condescen
so low, as to surrender them
into the hands of his Fa
thers Subjects, (for I can
well call them his) withou
so much as daring to dra
his sword in their defence
And indeed my Lord, th
whole businesse, seems to m
a very *Romance*, and will

my opinion, very hardly find belief in future ages: for who can without wonder consider, that an Army so inconsiderable (it not consisting then of above five or six thousand near *London*: and some of those devoted to the Protectors interest) should in a weeks, or lesse time, overwhelme, and alter the very basis of the Government of three such potent Kingdomes, and that without the least resistance or gainsaying: that they should break up a Parliament, and the only Parliament, which since 1641 had been chosen by the free votes of the peo-

ple, and yet the Nation b
so stupified as not to resen
so grosse an abridgment o
their due right and privile
ges: and then that this Ar
my should so soon forget th
terrour, wherewith thei
old *GENERAL* us'd to ap
pall them, but he scarce col
in his grave, should deprive
his Son of those honours an
dignities, wherein the Fa
thers prowesse had installed
him, is strange: But tha
this Son, should be content
to be deprived, and willing-
ly lay down the neck of his
honour, upon the block o
their ambition, is indeed
more strange than all the

rest

reſt. And doubtleſſe if we may credit *Saluſt*, his fault was as great in quitting what his Fathers Ambition had gained, as was that of his Fathers Ambition in gaining it; For *Non minus eſt turpe ſua relinquere, quam in aliena intrudere injuſtum & ambitioſum*: 'Tis no leſſe crime baſely to quit ones own, than injuſtly and ambitiouſly to invade anothers. He wanted the courage of our *Hero Henry* the 5th. who having haſtily taken the Crown from the Pillow of his not yet deceaſed Father, and being by him with a ſad ſigh told,

that God knew how unjustly he had gotten it; Replyed, that he (his Father) had by his sword attained, and it was now at his death by Gods providence devolved on him, and that therefore his Sword should maintain it as his right, against all Opposers. But our childish Protector wanted both his wit and courage; He having by fortune obtained a Crown, without the spending of either blood or treasure, was loath to draw a Sword for its preservation. Men seldom prize what they never sweat for.

Some there are who strive

to

to excuse the young Protector, alleaging that his Father left him as great a task, as himself had gone through, grounding their opinion on the old Maxime.

Non minor est virtus quam parere parte tueri.

Nay without doubt more excellent by farr is the conservation, than the conqueſt of a Kingdom; the first being often produced by fortunate force; the other only to be maintained by wisdom and policy. In tumults & dissentions the strongest carry it, but those once composed,

the wiſeſt can only retain it. But thoſe that will have his task greater than his Fathers, muſt likewiſe grant that his honour would ſo much the more have ſurmounted, had he carried his buſineſſe with a noble Spirit, and if he had failed in his enterpriſe, yet had he dyed in the bed of Honour and Royalty.

But to goe yet further it was extream unlikely (my Lord) that *England* ſhould continue under his Government, for if it be true in Politicks, that, *whatſoever is acquested by force, muſt be maintained by violence*: It is hard-

ly

ly probable that any, but he who by violent meanes had acquired a Kingdome, to the prejudice of the lawfull heir; should be capable of maintaining it by the same meanes. Very probable indeed it was, that had *Oliver*, who by graduate gaining, had learn'd the art of preserving, liv'd he might in a few yeares more, have setled the Kingdome, in a lesse Tyrannical, and more successefull way of Government: by finding occasions (which he daily sought) to disable those persons, which ambitious spirits were like to prove obstacles to the desi-

red succession. But Heaven was pleased to make good the truth of that maxime, *Things violent are not permanent*: like to that of *Lucan*,

In se magna ruunt: lætisque hunc numina rebus
Crescendi posuere modum.

Great things o'rethrow themselves: the Gods above
Have set our bounds, past which we cannot move,

But those (my Lord) who had deprived the young Protector of his dominion, are yet so kind, as not to touch his life; but order him to retire into the Country,

and

and allow him divers thousands of pounds for his maintenance. But indeed, a wonder it is, my Lord, how they durst at all trust him with either life or estate; they were certainly not ignorant of that Machiavilian Maxime, *Mortui non mordent*: Dead dogs bite not: but surely they esteemed him of no power to revenge, or thought him too pusillanimous to dare it. I remember *Malvezzi* upon *Annulius*:

Annulius (saith he) was wicked I confesse, but knew not how to make use of his wickednesse; he bereft his Brother of his Kingdome,

his

his Neece of her liberty, but took from neither their lives; I cannot well say whether he did dispise *Nemitor*'s weaknesse, whether he built upon his patience, or whether his policy was, to colour his own wickednesse, by making the World see, that he had not sufficient courage to govern a Kingdome, who had so poor a spirit as to live, being depriv'd of one.

I hope your Lordship will pardon my presumption, in giving Political censures on these actions, to a person so perfect in the most true, and absolute State-policy, as your

your Lordship: whose judgment is so clear and perspicacious, that it can dive into the very soul, and bosome of the closest Statesman; and can with farr greater ease discern the intricate reasons of our variations here, at that distance, than we, who are more sensible of their effects, are able to search into their original causes.

But, my Lord, I shall proceed. This sudden alteration of the Scene of Government, makes way for *Lambert* once more to come upon the stage; a person of so large spirit, and undaunted courage, that the Lord Protector

ctor *Oliver*, being conscious of his great endowments, out of a jealousie, or rather reall fear of him, had deprived him of all command in the Army; only making him a member of his other house, or pageant house of Lords; and during his reign, he lived as 'twere retired; finding it in vain to struggle against one who had got so settled a power: but diligently waited a fit opportunity to present himself again upon the Theatre: and being unwilling that occasion should shew him the bald part of her head, layes hold on this as

the

the first. So he sits as one of the Council of Officers, the souldiers ancient love to him, maintaining him still in credit, and incorporating him again into that Army, from whence the old Protector had dismembred him. Well to be sure, the young Protector (as the Turks say) is *manzulled*, and his authority again descends into the hands of the Army, by whose meanes his father first acquired it. But they considering that it must be matter of the highest discontent to the people, that they who had all this while pretended to have sought for

their

their Liberty and Freedom, should without any pretext, take upon them to rule by the Sword, the most arbitrary and unjust of all Governments: And being at a stand what to do in this juncture of time, wherein they had strangely disobliged the best part of the Nation; they presently close with the Commonwealth party, and make use of that which me thinks, was of all shifts most base, and also dangerous: That old Parliament (or indeed but the Rump of it) which they had before dissolved to set up their General *Cromwell*, and

had

had so highly disobliged, they now call again, and desire them, to take the Government into their hands, making a large and specious Declaration; solemnly protesting their deep sorrow, for their wicked Apostacy, and back-sliding from the Good Old Cause (as they call it) and deviation from the way of God which without doubt they never were nor intend to be in) in the year 1653. when they interrupted this Parliament, which were so grand Asserters of the Peoples Liberties; had taken such pains, and acted such glo-

glorious things (as they say) for the good (but indeed inglorious for the bad) of the Nation.

This Parliament being convened some from Goales and some 'tis like from Bawdy Houses; cause the Army in the first place to take Commissions from them, and solemnly swear to stick close to them in all their just proceedings (which whether so or no the Army were resolved to keep the power of determining) and thus by Gods permission that old Government which was the first cause of Englands ruine, is now vamp

vamp't and set up again to breed amongst us greater confusions.

My Lord in this transaction, there are two things to be wondred at: First, how the Parliament durst give any credit to an oath of allegiance from the Army, which they had seen them so often break, not only formerly to themselves, but likewise so lately to their young Protector: And secondly, how the Army durst trust, that Parliament they had so grossely abused, with a full power over them to place and displace whom they pleased: certainly they could

could not imagine that either such an injury could be forgotten, or hope that the Parliament would not indeavour to revenge it; such affronts being by most Spirits (especially such as some of the Parliament were of) ingraven in brasse, and never to be blotted out, whilst there can be any hope of opportunity of requital; to which purpose is the Italian Proverb, *Chi offende scrive in polvere: & chi è offeso in marmo*, who offends writes in the Sand: but who offended in Marble. And indeed by the Parliaments after proceedings we have reaſo-

judge, that their intention was no leſſe, than to ſerve the Army as they had formerly ſerved them, at leaſt, ſo to depreſſe, and over-awe them, that in caſe the Army ſhould diſlike their proceedings, yet they might keep them from their old ſhift of diſſolving their power; which deſign of theirs (as you will underſtand anon) proved nevertheleſſe vain and unſucceſsfull.

In the mean time, ſeveral members, who becauſe they would not dip their hands in the bloud of their Prince, had been expulſed this houſe, at the purgation made

made by the Army in 1648,
pretend equal interest with
the rest to sit and vote, bu
are denied: the Army on
admitting those who ha
sate till their dismission in
1653. These are extreamly
inraged at their repulse
Mr. *Prynne*, one of those se
cluded Members, write
strongly against them; pro
ving them by several reaso
to be no Parliament, but on
ly a Tyrannical and illeg
Authority: they being fir
dissolved by the death of th
King who summoned them
he being *Principium, causa*
finis Parliamenti. Secondly
they not being the four
par

part of that number, which ought to constitute a Parliament, the rest of their fellow Members being at several times turned out of the House, according to the pleasure of the factious Army; that most Shires and Corporations in *England* being unjustly deprived of their Burgesses, had no power nor interest in the Government of the Nation. Thirdly, their power being again devolved into the people, who having by their votes chosen another, did disannull the authority of this Representative. But whilst Mr. *Prynne* and others are thus setting

on

on them with their pens, Si
George Booth, and others a
raising of Armes; so th
this Parliament is like to
assaulted both wayes, T
Marti, quam Mercurio.

The excluded Memb
not being able to compo
the high affront done the
in being forced out of t
House, not only now, but
so at the dissolution of t
free Parliament under
chard, and animated by
Presbyterian party, whose i
terest now lay wholly at
state, and could expect
find no mercy from the no
predominant faction of
nbaptists and *Independents*

bine together, how they
ht by force rid the Na-
from the ruine that
atned them, and the ta-
they now groaned un-
And this their plot they
e almost general over
land, ingaging the most
werfull Gentlemen in
eir several Counties, who
he first of *August* (the
y appointed by this
liament for the ba-
ing of the Cavaliers
of *England*) were
ddenly to rise in arms
several parts of the
tion, but by the tre-
ery of some of the Con-
rates, most places of

C their

their randevous were discovered, and so the design for the most part disappointed. But nevertheless Sir *George Booth*, makes good his design, and in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* raises a considerable force, all the principal Gentry of both Counties joyning with him; they presently secure *Westchester* and some other places; and declare for a Free Parliament, and to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Nation.

The Parliament immediately send out forces to oppose them, and make the Lord *Lambert* head of the

Par-

arty. He marches towards
hem, in ten days arrives at
hem, Faces, Fights, and
vercomes them, and brings
ack his Victorious Army.

Sir *George Booth* and his
orces had been by all at
London supposed to be in
osture both gallant and
umerous, insomuch, that
hen the news of his over-
row arrived, it could
carcely gain credit and be-
ief: but it was rather
ought, that the Parlia-
ent only cryed up a victo-
y, when they had really
eceived a losse.

But a losse indeed it was,
nd a total one to Sir *George*,

but to what to attribute it I know not: His Horse were most Gentlemen, and made up a most gallant body with Foot likewise sufficiently numerous: insomuch that some there be, who passe censure on the General as the cause of their overthrow. I remember *Tu* prescribes five things as necessary properties of a good General. *Scientia*, *Providentia*, *Virtus*, *Authoritas* & *Fortuna*. Knowledge, Foresight, Valour, Authority, and Fortune. Now whether Sir *George* were indowed with the four first I will not dispute, but it

of question, that he was not at all favoured by the

And though perhaps he might injoy the four first accomplishments, yet was he not renowned for any of them: and the credit of a General, being that which chiefly gives life to the action, inciting and quickning the Souldiers to fight as it were in emulation of their Commander; from hence perhaps might proceed the discomfiture: and this might strike terrour into Sir *Geor.* Army; they with an unskilful, at least unrenowned General, being to in-

counter a most experienced Army, under the Command of so Famous and Victorious a Captain.

But some from the easiness of the Victory, have imagined that it was only a design of the Parliaments, who made use of some of the chief Complices, as Instruments to draw the Gentry into Arms; that the sequestring their Estates might both serve to supply their present necessities, and render those, who were most like to offend them incapable by reason of their want of means, to work them any future prejudice

I dare not give my opinion concerning it, but yet think, that if this be granted, the Parliament did for the ſettlement of themſelves, make uſe of a Trapan both coſtly and hazardous.

For Sir *George Booths* cauſe, and his reaſons for raiſing Armes, they had juſtice enough in them, had the deſign ſucceded; it being the ſucceſſe, which crowns all enterpriſes, and nothing elſe to the vulgar proclaims them Lawful. Yet we cannot but yield more right to him, who raiſed Armes againſt the oppreſſion of an uſurped Government: than

to them who drew the
Swords against their Law
ful Soveraign: be it for n
thing else but to make go
that old Proverb, *Fallere fa*
lentem non est fraus.

But right or wrong h
cause, the poor Gentlem
with divers his Compan
ners, were made Pris
ners, and clapt up in th
Tower of *London*, there
attend that Doom, whic
Victors would be pleased
inflict upon them.

The Parliament bein
puffed up with their succes
in token of their gratitud
to *Lambert* for his service
order him four thousan

Crown

Crowns to buy him a Jewell, which Sum (as hath been credibly reported) he frankly bestows amongst the Souldiery; Plausibly telling them, it was a debt to their not his deserts; Which as it was an Act of high Obligation to the Souldiery, so did it render more suspected to the already too jealous Parliament.

Whilst these things were doing in the North: The Parliament is taking care and consulting all wayes, as well to render them secure from being supplanted by the Army, as powerful to suppresse the peoples insur-

rection. For this purpose they settle the Trained Bands in *London*, with six Troops of Horse, and the Militia in the respective Counties, and appoint such Commanders over them, as they believe are of assured fidelity, & change likewise what Governours of Garrisons they think fit, and raise three new Regiments composed for the most part of Anabaptists, Quakers, & Fifth Monarchy Men (terms strange perhaps to your Lordships ears, yet equidemical diseases in the English Nation) these they call the congregational Brigade, and with

with these means they hope to strengthen themselves, and be able in due time to curb the pride of the so oft Rebellious Army.

Yet at present they are forced to supply them with monyes, for fear of Mutinies or worse, for this they lay most heavy burdens on the people, assigning them to pay fifteen Months Tax off before hand; a thing scarce before heard of in *England*.

My Lord I have often wondred at the English Commonalty; who made their lawful Soveraigns raising of Ship money, with-

out authority of Parlia-
ment, one of their chief
pleas for their raising War
against him, and yet have
since sat still, and as tweer
willingly yielded to the
payment of unheard of du-
ties, and have been content
with what ever burthens
and oppressions have been
imposed on them, by those
whom they stick not publi-
liquely to call extorting un-
just and lawlesse Tyrants.

But they may even thank
themselves both for their
payments and patience: for
what at first they so frankly
offered to free them from a
small oppression, must now
a

a cuſtome be forceably required, to ſubject them under a reall Tyranny.

But to return to our purpoſe; though the Parliament, at their reinſtating, had reſtor'd *Lambert* to ſome command in the Army, making him a Colonel both of Horſe and Foot; yet there were ſome amongſt them, who ſuppoſing the truth, that his Cæſarian Spirit would never ſubject it ſelf to any ſuperiour Power, which he ſaw any probability of overturning; did openly in the Houſe proteſt againſt him that however his plauſible carriage might cauſe

cause them to suppose him a fit instrument for promoting their interest, yet would he leave no stone unturned till (though with the ruine of them) he had made himself, what formerly *Oliver* with his assistance had advanced himself to. This counsel though most rationall the Parliament omitted, either out of fear that should they eject him, his interest in the Army might turn to their prejudice, or led into and overweening confidence of his assured fidelity, by his own protestations, or the cunning perswasions of his secret Friends, of whom

the

the moſt notable, was by the ſequel found to be, Sir *Henry Vane*, a man of moſt principall authority in the Houſe, and the chief riing-leader of all the frantick Sectarians, upon whoſe aſſiſtance they then chiefly relied.

But becauſe I may give your Lordſhip the moſt compleat knowledge of affaires my poor abilities are able to furniſh you with, I humbly conceive it no devotion, to give your excellency ſome character of both theſe perſons, who have been ſuch cardinall inſtruments in all our late tranſactions.

For

For the first, to wit *Lambert* he is a man for out-side of so qualified a Gravity, so composed a Modesty, as might well conduce to the covering of ambitious desires, and to vote him a person of the greatest humilitie, and for his in-side, without doubt of so sound a judgement, so deliberate a speech and so purely valourous a courage and Spirit, that I really think him worthy the greatest admiration, and every way fitted for the highest enterprizes.

The other Sir *Henry Vane* I am perswaded if any one, doth

both aptly verify the Pro-
verb,

Conveniunt rebus nomina
sæpe suis.

There is oftimes an agree-
ment between Name and
Nature. He is a man of a
turbulent Spirit, and work-
ing Brain; a strange com-
position of Choler and Me-
lancholy: A Person who
having given himself wholy
to whimsies in Religion, will
still find out Crochets in
State too, and indeed the
wisest may be to advance
any interest to the ruine of a
Government, who can but
sooth

sooth him with the conc
that he is pleased with
Chimæra's. Such an o
both *Cromwell* and *Lam*
found him, and acco
dingly made him subs
vient to their designs.

Excuse my Lord, this
hope not unnecessary)
gression, these two hav
been without doubt, t
chief Designers, as well
principal Maintainers
our next revolution.

The Lord *Lambert* havi
finished his work in t
North, is now marchi
his Army back to *Lond*
But while they were
their way, they (witho
doub

bt by the secret instiga-
of *Lambert* though he
esly professed the con-
; send up a paper to
Lord *Fleetwood*, to be by
n or Col. *Cobbet* present-
to the Parliament, un-
the name of *the humble*
resentation of the Forces un-
the command of the Lord
mbert in the late Northern
edition. The Sum of
ich paper was, that the
rd *Fleetwood* might be
de Captain General of
the Forces in *England*,
tland, and *Ireland*, that
mbert, *Desbrow*, and *Monk*,
ght likewise be made
neral Officers, that Sir

George

George and the rest of h
complies might be brou
to speedy Tryal, &c. T
paper arriving at the L
Fleetwood's hands, he call
Councel of some Officers
wallingford House, to co
der of it. He likewise co
municates it to Sir Ar
Haslrig, and Sir Henry Va
two Members of the Hou
and desires a meeting fr
them in order to their co
currence with it. But H
slrig instead of meeti
acquaints the Parliame
with it: Tells them th
was some design hatchi
by the Army, suspects L
berts ambition to make hi

a single person; and
ly adviseth his sending
the *Tower*.
I suppose *Fleetwood* assured
self of *Haselrigs* and
fidelity to the Army,
n he communicated that
er to them; but doubt-
Haselrig had a farther
n than so, when he first
waded the recalling of
Parliament; He him-
being one of them, and
of the chief, could not
equally resent the af-
done them all: and be-
likewise a person of a
bulent Spirit, and of the
e disposition and incli-
on, of which *Tacitus* re-
presents

presents another to be, *Con-
silii omnis cujus ipse non au-
esset inimicus*; *Fleetwood* ha
little reason to trust him
and might easily have ima-
gined that he would, bein
now in power, strive to con-
tinue in it as long as
could, and that he wou
not only discover all me
which might hinder his be
turning out; but likewi
indeavour to revenge th
former: and though he an
the rest of the Parliame
might seem to have forg
past injuries, and to be re
ally appeased with the Ar
my, yet they were not rea
ly so, but only out of poli

ends dissembled a re-
cilement with them; yet
Army could not but eas-
uesse it (as I think in-
they did) knowing that
ing of *Plutarch* to be a
ime. *Vt Christalli Frag-
a Sarciri Nullo Modo Pos-
Ita difficilimum est re-
iliare qui ex arctissima fa-
iritate in Mutuum odium
rent.* As 'tis impossible
piece again a broken
le; So 'tis most difficult
reconcile those, who out
strict familiarity, are
len into a mutual hatred.
But indeed (my Lord)
Army had greater rea-
to distrust the Parlia-
ment

ment than so, for when Se-
vants have wronged the
Masters, especially in so hi
a degree, their guilty con
ences feeds ever on a fea
distrust of revenge, thou
there be no occasion giv
Qui post vehementes inimi
ae in gratiam redeunt multa
viuscula ac temere accide
in suspitionem rapiunt: a
in universam omnia tanq
Consulto & in malam par
facta ad conceptum ante od
apponunt.

The Parliament had
their cost seen by former e
perience how dangerous
was for them to make a G
neral over their Armie

wh

o ſhould have full power
ive Commiſſions to their
icers and place and diſ-
e whom they pleaſed,
knew that from ſuch a
ferment there was but
ſtep to a ſingle perſon,
o muſt neceſſarily be-
ve them of their authori-
ſet in my opinion (my
d) there's none but will
demn Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*
proceedings, he ſhould
e diſſembled his anger
mewhat longer, rather
let it break out on ſuch
ddain ere the Parlia
ts deſigns could be ripe,
t for ſo deſperate an en-

terprize; Such rash Co
cels are generally obnox
to all great designs or c
cumventions, *Temeritas p*
terquam quod stulta est em
infelix; Rashnesse, besi
the Folly of it is likew
unfortunate saith *Livie*, a
so it prov'd here, for h
ving vented it's first fury
dead, like a Wasp that h
lost his Sting.

The Parliament imm
diately upon Sir *Arthurs*
timation, send to *Fleets*
for the Paper, he prese
teth them a Copy of it, b
the original he preten
was in *Cobbets* hands, th
send for him, but he was n

ome when it ſhould be
ered: however imme-
ly the Parliament paſs
e, that the making of
General Officers was
leſſe, chargeable, and
rous to the Common-
h.
though by the Lord
s over-weening the
ment over reach'd the
y, in this year the Ar-
an quit with them,
s raſh Councel is
ed to them; But they
ſo raſh as he, they
y diſſemble it, and in-
of breaking out into
repreſent in an hum-
Petition, their reſolu-

tions to be ſtill true a
faithfull to them. Notwi
ſtanding whatever their
and the enemies of the pu
lick good might ſuggeſt
gainſt them, deſiring th
not to believe that they h
any intentions to diſſo
their power, or to the
ting up of a ſingle Per
which they had ſo ſolem
and freely declared again
and in the end, make ſe
ral Propoſitions, which
pretend for the Nat
good, and concludewith
iterated promiſes of th
fidelity.

The Parliament recei
their Petition, and wit

seeming hearty thanks; but they neither credit them nor follow *Haselrigs* rash Counsell, though I believe, they would willingly have done the last, had it consisted with their affairs; But as cases stood, they thought it best to dissemble with the Dissemblers, and fain a Credulity of the others fained Protestations.

They had all this while been drawing what part of the Army to their adherence they could, and had as they thought, assured themselves of two Regiments of horse, and one of foot; with which, and the train-bands

of the City of *London*, (
whose help I suppose the
presumed) their Congre
tional Brigade, and the M
litia of the several Coun
ties, they hope they shall b
able to deal with their di
contented Army.

But this Counsel whic
should have been the Ca
binet of State, whose deli
berations, like jewels, shou
have been lock't up in se
cresie, is nothing lesse; bu
their whole designes are be
traid to the Army: who no
only seek a Prevention o
them, but are likewise de
signing against them; an
without doubt waited fo

no-

thing more than ſome
h occaſion to diſſolve
em, which might likewiſe
ord a fit plea to the peo-
e.

But the Parliament re-
lves to prevent their de-
es ſooner than they expe-
ed it, and though they do
thing elſe than what the
ream power of a Nation
as the Army had made
em to be) might warrant,
t the Army think they
ve thence occaſion ſuffici-
t to break their late Oath
Allegiance to them, and
render thoſe actions of
e Parliament, which were
pleaſing, to be unjuſt.

Thus, my Lord, they only promise obedience, that they may rule, fain a subjection, that they may command; pretend to maintain the due rights privileges and freedome of the people that they may inslave them; making what to them seems necessity of State, a competent apology for all their actions.

The whole businesse was thus; the Parliament had good grounds of some design in the Army against them; and who would not seek to prevent it? they used their utmost endeavours and to those endeavours added

the

these votes; that it should be treason to raise any money but by Act of Parliament, &c.

They likewise make void the Commissions of the Lord *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and seven other Ringleading Officers, and order a Committee for the Government of the Army; and then upon this, expecting, or fearing a dissolution, adjourn to the next day.

My Lord, 'tis necessary to understand all along, that whatever Oaths or Protestations this Army make, if once they oppose their interest, they are utterly void;

they could not have forgo
their so late promises of o
bedience, but they would
obey in their Commands,
not without them; then
once offered to be taken a
way, they understand their
allegiance unprofitable: s
they resolve, that instead o
quitting their power to the
Parliament, that the Parli
ament shall quit theirs t
them, and once will the
more from servants turn
their Masters.

Well, the designes o
both sides are laid; the Par
liament gather about their
House what force they can
a Regiment of foot, and fou
troop

troops of horſe appear; they are plac'd in due order, in convenient places adjoyning to it, three troops are ſent into the City, to crave their aſſiſtance, but in vain; yet they prevail in *Southwark*.

Nor are the reſt of the Army leſſe quick in their Preparations; they aſſemble what force they can about *White Hall*, the antient Palace of the Kings; they likewiſe ſend to the City, but are denied; it reſolving to ſtand Newter: the Tower of *London* ſupplies both with ammunition. In the mean time, the Parliaments life guard paſſing by *White-Hall* is ſtopt by

by *Lambert*, a Piſtoll preſented to their Captains breſt, forces him to diſmount, and another is preſently mounted in his ſtead: ſo their own guard is turned againſt them; and ſtraight force back their Speaker, whom they meet going to the Houſe; the Congregational Brigade likewiſe revolt from the Parliament to the Army.

Yet thoſe who were gathered about the houſe are very hardly brought to compound; they ſeem reſolved to be faithfull to the Parliament: but at length ſeeing their force ſo ſmall, they

ſoul-

ſouldiers unwilling to fight, and their enemies willing to agree, they yield; and thus is the power of the Parliament forced from them, and taken into the hands of the feeble headed Army.

They, who but ſome few months before had with ſuch ſeeming hearty (though indeed fained) expreſſions, declared their repentance for their former diſturbance, and their now reſolutions to be ſtedfaſt to them, have thus ſoon forgot both one and t'other; and in ſo ſmall a time relapſed into what they then acknowledged for an error.

The

The Parliament and A
my put forth their feveri
Declarations or Pleas, acc
fing one the other, and bo
pleading a due in the Gove
ment, but tis an eafy matt
for them to difpute their t
eles one with another, whe
neither had right; but indee
it reliſhes ſomwhat of folly
in the Parliament to con
tend with the Army, whoſe
Sword (they might eaſily
imagine) would never yield
to words, & whoſe ſtrengt
and ſucceſſe gave them ſom
appearance of juſtice.

For the action it ſelf, I
not take upon me to judg
it, though moſt condemn it
every

ery action tends to its end, which we ſhall perceive whether it be good or bad, vertuous or diſhoneſt, yet in every action the Actor propoſes to himſelf ſome good, or at leaſt endeavours to make it ſeem good, ſee Ariſt. in his Eth. lib. 1. Πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος ὁμοίως δὲ πρᾶξις καὶ προαίρεσις ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ; Every Art or Science every action or purpoſe ſeems to deſire ſome good.

But (my Lord) thus far I dare venture to ſay, and do confidenly believe, upon reaſons drawn from their actions, that notwithſtanding the Armies ſo fair pre-

tences

tences for the establishment of a civil Government in these Nations, their only intents are to continue their arbitrary power and Govern by the Sword.

For what civil Government can ever be said to be setled, much lesse flourish, whilst their force continues, which will overthrow all results of such a Government which correspond not with their will and interest.

The Officers of those Forces who assisted the Parliament are by the Army suspended from their commands, and reason good: for why should they

they being a part of the Army, make a breach in it, or be seduced by the fair and golden promises of the Parliament, to separate from their brethren. Doubtlesse, they expected, and were promised large rewards, had the businesse succeeded, but they might have considered, that such fair and seducing promises are like fish of the *Crinesian* River, which in the water look like gold, but taken into ones hand, are of their proper colour.

The Army are not content only to have interrupted the Parliaments sitting, and hin-

hindred their future meeting, but they likewise by their Declaration disannul all those Votes which were displeasing to them; a thing never before heard of, that a Councel of Officers could make void the Votes of a Parliament, or that any but a Parliament could abrogate or annul those Laws made by them.

Thus my Lord I have given you an account of two sad deplorable changes, and caused by the ambition of some in the Army here in lesse than six months time, which I believe are not to be paralel'd by any society

of

en since the creation.
et us to these; add those
r Governments which
have before subverted,
we shall find the Sum
s: From a King, to a
se of Lords and Com-
s, from that to a House
Commons only; this
ted they set up a Prote-
, then down goes a Pro-
or; and up mounts the
House of Commons a-
n, and now is that Ex-
t: so many Scenes have
ir been in the acting of
English Tragedy, which
ear me is not yet half
summate.

Thus much my Lord to
the

the Historical part of
discourse; I hope
Lordship will now ex
the trouble I shall give
presuming to present
your Judgement, what
vernment (supposing
Army should settle a C
one, as they pretend) wo
most quadrate with the
fairs and interests of E
land, as they at present sta
without supposing or c
sidering at all the interest
the lawful Heir.

I must needs confesse, th
'tis a task of so much di
culty, that it would rath
require your Lordships hi
and noble Capacity, th

so weak and unworthy a Pen as mine; Yet nevertheless presuming upon your wonted Candor, I shall take bold freely to lay down my opinion.

But first we must suppose, that into whatever hands the Army shall entrust the Freedom of these Nations, or whatever form or manner of Government they shall think fit to establish, they must either wholly devolve the power into their hands, or resolve on a general disbanding; for as I said before, 'tis and will ever be inconsistent with a Civil Government, to have their pro-

proceedings over-awed by a Military power.

To resolve on a general disbanding whilst any Heir to the Crown is living, will be to lay themselves open to them to forein invasions, or intestine force, the Heir being ready at all times to lay hold on all occasions for the regaining of his right, and at least two thirds of the people of *England*, being still faithful and loyal to that interest.

Their resolutions then to a readie compliance with, and obedience to whatever Civil Government they shall establish, being grant-

ted,

ed, the question will still be, what Government will be most fit and convenient to the present State of affairs.

The Interest of *England*, as to a Government, is at present so obscur'd and clouded, that it's almost impossible to be discern'd, it being now devolved rather into the interest of some particular persons, than into the interest of the whole; these particular persons are the prime Officers of the Army; the question then will now be what Government will most correspond with the interest of these

Offi-

Officers of the Army.

That a Commonwealth in any degree should do so, is impossible; they being then forced to surrender the whole power into their hands, whom they constitute Governours of the Commonwealth; it being unjust and unreasonable for them to bear Office both in the State and Army; and to surrender up their whole power to them, will be to yield to that which by so many tricks and shifts they have sought to avoid; and from Masters be content at last to become Servants.

The late example joyn'd

with

with the antient rule, may further assure them, that those who have received power; are always suspicious of those that gave it, and never think themselves secure; whilst they imagine that they are by any means able to deprive them of that authority wherewith they have invested them; they are therefore for their own safety bound to that politick piece of ingratitude, to overthrow, or decrease those who have been the cause of their

This granted, it will

easily appear how incon-
sistent it will be for th
Armies interest to sett
the government in th
way of a Republick or fre
State.

It now rests then t
prove that the goven
ment by a single Perso
whose abilities may ren
der him capable of s
high an employment, an
who may be elected ou
of these Principal Office
of the Army, will mo
comply with their inte
rests; which thus the Ar
mies love to him will con
tinue and maintain him i
his power, and those Offi-

cers

which his ſuſpect
think unfit for mili-
command, may be
employed in civil truſts.
Thus both the Army
be continued in a
ber convenient to ſup-
ſe forein invaſions, or
ſtine rebellions; and
e Officers who arrive
o the ſupream Digni-
be grac'd with ſecure
ues, conformable to
r ſeveral degrees.
know the late exam-
Richard Cromwell may
objected againſt this,
ome will averre, that
will continually be
ſupplanters; but that

example may rather teach the next single Person how to provide a remedy for such disturbances.

This likewise will be a means whereby the honour of the Nation will again flourish, and will amplifie the publick traffick, and restore England to its former renown, which can never be done by settlement of a Commonwealth, where every Member will regard his private profit. Take this from no mean Statist:

The Monarch fa[illegible] propounded honour [illegible] than the publick good

and lastly, proprietary interest and profit. But the Popular Estate evermore inverteth this order, for it hath private gain in the first intention, the common good in the second, and honour in the last: which diversity of proceeding ariseth not out of the different formes of their government, but out of their different natures that govern: so great odds there is between a Prince and a Citizen.

I could, 'tis true, my Lord, prescribe what would be more for the benefit both of the Army

and Nation than either of these, but tis that which every Child know's, *viz.* that the Army make such propositions to the right Heir as may be both honourable and safe for him and them, & retire themselvs to live at their Farms in the Country, since they are no better capable to manage State affairs.

I have thus far presumed upon your Lordships patience, in giving you this large account of the affairs of miserable and distressed *England*, whose distractions have (from the most glorious Nation

of

of *Europe*) rendred her the most ridiculous Nation of the whole world, and made her Natives, once so highly respected in forein parts, now ashamed to own her.

But I hope your Lordship has yet a good opinion of her, and does not believe all her Children to be guilty of these her troubles; but rather lay the fault (where tis justly due) upon those ambitious turbulent Spirits who have indeed been the cause of her ruine, though I know the vulgar will always judge according to the Proverb.

Per un cattivo mille bon' si infamano.

For one mans fault a thousand are defam'd.

Having thus far given your Lordship an account of our State affaires, and their disturbances Please to fix your eye a little upon the Ecclesiastick distractions, the second spoke in the wheel of our misery; Into so many rents & pieces is our poor Church shattred, that really, my Lord, I hardly know how to piece up a discourse of it: No day

but

but produces its Schism or Heresie; No Cobler but presumes to make himself the head of a Sect or faction, and presumes to glory in thundring the most holy word of God out of his prophane lips; to whom his the Auditors (for so for the most part they are) listen to, as to an Oracle, and hee presuming his confidence to be knowledg, carries himself as proudly as if he were their Ghostly Father.

No Order nor decency in any of their Divine worships, and those accounted

most holy who have Seats, your Comedies in *Italy* being acted in more decent and comely places than these men worship God in; So ir-religious they are, that I believe, were it not to keep themselves from the weather, they would hardly allow a Church in *England*, the name of Church being odious to many, who rather choose to meet at their irregular Devotions in private Houses, or corners of the Street, where they Gabble out two or three houres together of

non-

nonſcence, enravel'd with the ſacred word of God: Tithes they abhor, ſo unwilling are they to expend the leaſt upon their ſoules, wherewith they might Gorge and Glut their bodies, ſuch too is their envy and ſpleen, towards one another, that each preaches Hell and Damnation to thoſe who differ but in the leaſt Tenent from them; In this alone the Church is happier than the State, it does not ſo often change it's Government; but the reaſon is becauſe it has none at all.

Surely,

Surely 'tis the just judgement of God upon us, which is the cause of all these distractions both in Church and State, for our having first deserted and cast dirt in the face of our true and Mother Church.

Should I (my Lord) give you an account of every particular Sect amongst us, 'twould take up an age to describe them; Here are Presbiterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, Fift Monarchy men, and such a rabble

ble note, that I want a Dictionary to find out their names; the first have not much fault besides their Pride and Ambition, which is now pretty well quell'd; the rest, though they hold some several Tenents and Heresies, yet all of them contende Church Government: Men of Sin, and are unwilling to be ruled by any thing but the Spirit; like the Welchman, who being accused for theft, would be tryed by none but by Christ and his twelve Apostles.

Yet

Yet are the Independents the mildest of these, though proud enough in Conſcience; But the Quakers are a ſowre generation, who defie all learning, of a crabbed diſpoſition, and indeed look rather like Fantaſmes, or Spirits ſent from Hell to deceive the World, than Chriſtians, yet grow they extream potent, boaſting in their Schismatical opinions, and ſeducing ſeveral poor and ignorant people to their own damnation.

My Lord, I am asha-

med

med thus to lay open to you the disgrace and shame of our Nation, wherein these fanatick Spirits have involved it; But I dare tell you, my Lord, that there are yet some candid Loyal Souls, who still doe, and will ever continue true and faithful to their King and Lawfull Soveraign, and firm to their first principles of Religion, scorning the greatest oppressions should affright them from these principles, and daring even death it self in their defence.

But

But these my Lord live like Sheep amongst so many Wolves, and are like to do so, till God shall be pleased to send again their Shepheard amongst them, when their Sheepcotes shall be turned into Palaces, bedeckt with the Skins of their now Ravenous Murderers.

This, my Lord, is the sad and distressed estate of the Church of *England*, whose rents seems incurable, unlesse God of his great mercy lay to his helping hand to restore her

her breaches, and render her again her primitive lustre and beauty; for which I beg your Lordship, (whom I know so great a well-willer to the *English* Nation) to joyn your Prayers to ours, for her & for the re-settlement of these three distressed Kingdoms in their former splendour, that every man may again enjoy his right, Justice flourish, and Religion prosper; that we might have our Kings as at the first, and our Princes as at the beginning: Which the God of heaven grant,

grant, that my next may inform you. In the mean time, I humbly kiss your Lordships hand, and rest,

Your Lordships

Most Devoted

Servant,